corrupt, but which paved the way for abolition of the whisky traffic in South Carolina.

All these things were accomplished only after the hardest and bitterest of political conflicts—bitter because he was bitterly opposed and criticized; hard, because the opposition to Mr. TILLMAN was led by many of the best and brainiest men in the State who had controlled its policies and destinies and who could not see that a new day had dawned in the State.

In 1890 a preliminary convention of the representatives of the reform faction of the Democratic Party, headed by Mr. TILLMAN, was held in March, and this convention nominated a full State ticket, with Mr. TILLMAN as its candidate for governor, to be run for the regular Democratic nomination, and provided for a joint debate at each county seat between the candidates so put forward and any other candidates that might offer. Some of the most brilliant men in South Carolina joined issue with Mr. TILLMAN in the campaign, but his brilliant intellect, his keen wit, his ready retort, and his great learning were equal to every demand, and he carried the election with a tremendous majority and received the Democratic nomination. Bitter attacks were made on him, and this bitterness brought forth bitterness in return; but when the campaign was over he was ready to say, as Grant said after Appomattox, "Let us have peace." But not so. The opposition put out an independent candidate against him, but he was elected by an overwhelming majority, carrying every county in the State. He has since had the opportunity to pay a remarkable tribute to his competitor for the Democratic nomination for governor in his first race for governor, the Hon. Joseph H. Earle, who was subsequently his colleague in the Senate for a short time, and this tribute paid on the floor of the Senate shows that Mr. TILLMAN could fight a good fight, a hard fight, a bitter fight with a worthy antagonist and yet retain the respect of that man and at the same time retain a high regard for the virtues of an honorable antagonist, and such his antagonist was in 1890.

In 1892 he was a candidate for reelection as governor of South Carolina, and he was opposed in the primaries by that brilliant orator and courtly gentleman, ex-Gov. John C. Shepherd; and again Mr. TILLMAN had an antagonist worthy of the best, but so strongly was he intrenched in the hearts of the great masses of the people that he was reelected governor of his State for another term, during which he retained his wonderful hold on the regard and affections of his people, so that at the expiration of his second term as governor he was able, after a memorable campaign, to defeat the gallant Matthew Calbraith Butler, who had so well and so long served his State in peace and in war; and thus began his great senatorial career.

I shall not dwell at length on the record made by Senator TILLMAN in this body. Many of you who served with him know that record more intimately than I do. Some of you remember the inexperienced legislator who came here with his pitchfork. You saw him in action, you heard him in debate, you counseled with him in conference, and you had the opportunity of learning the massiveness of his intellect, the bigness of his heart, his desire to serve his party, his State, and his Nation.

When others left the Democratic Party, believing that the interests of the people could be better served through the Populist Party, he kept his followers within the Democratic Party and tried to make that party more truly representative of the masses of the people; where evils had crept into his own party he did not hesitate to point them out and seek to correct them. When the Republican Party was in power he did not hesitate to join issue with them in any matter that did not comport with his sense of civic righteouness, and some of his speeches on the great political problems of the past quarter of a century will go down in history as classics of the period. His fights against special privilege, his demand for a greater and more elastic currency, his opposition to the exorbitant prices charged for steel plate for battleships, his struggles against harmful monopolies—all these are matters of history and can not be overlooked by the future student of American history; but possibly the greatest service that it was his fortune to render the American people was in the upbuilding of the American Navy while he was a member of and chairman of the Naval Affairs Committee, and the last official act of the distinguished Senator, the last signature that he ever placed to any document, was his signature to the conference report on the part of the Senate to the greatest naval bill that ever passed the American Congress. Under his chairmanship of the Senate Committee on Naval Affairs the American Navy was so increased and builded up that it now stands second only to that of Great Britain, and that Navy, with the assistance of those of our allies, made it possible for America to send across the ocean more than 2,000,000 of American soldiers to join with the other legions of liberty in the great war of democracy and freedom of the world without the loss of a single American transport. Under his leadership great navy yards were built and improved in all parts of the country where needed, and the one on the coast of his own State will always be linked with his name and remain a monument to his memory.

He loved his fellow man, he loved freedom, he loved liberty; and when the civilization of mankind was at stake, when the freedom and liberty of the world were threatened, when oppressed people were crying out for assistance, when American rights were disregarded and invaded, when the American flag was insulted, he declared that these conditions were intolerable and that he would vote for a declaration of war against Germany whenever the opportunity presented, and he lived to see his country and yours take its proper place in the affairs of the world, but alas! the grim reaper carried him over yonder before it was given to him to see the glorious emblem of liberty and freedom floating over the victorious troops of free America on the fields of France.

He played his part like a man, he fought his battles like a soldier, he died in the service of his country, as he wished to do, and his State and his country are the better for that he lived. He is gone but not forgotten. The memory of his service and achievement will linger long after all of those who knew him, who loved him, and respected him, shall have joined that great invisible host in the eternal over yonder.

Mr. President, as a further mark of respect to the memory of the late distinguished Senator from South Carolina, Hon. BENJAMIN R. TILLMAN, I move that the Senate stand in recess until to-morrow at 12 o'clock noon.

The motion was unanimously agreed to; and (at 12 o'clock and 30 minutes p. m.) the Senate took a recess until to-morrow, Monday, December 16, 1918, at 12 o'clock meridian.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

SUNDAY, *December 15, 1918.*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon, and was called to order by Mr. LEVER as Speaker pro tempore.

Rev. F. Ward Denys, of Washington, D. C., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, Father of all who have gone, to whom we come at this time in solemn consciousness that we ourselves must all sooner or later enter the realm of the everlasting, we invoke Thy divine guidance on this occasion, that this memorial may be a fitting expression of that which concerns the one who has gone into the realm which we all must enter, and that that which is said of him may become an imperishable evidence of the services that he, as a faithful servant of his Master and of his country, rendered in these Halls prior to his going to the halls of lasting glory. These and all things we ask in the name of Him who is the author and soul of all that is good and true and beautiful; amen.

THE JOURNAL.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The clerk will read the Journal of the proceedings of yesterday.

Mr. BYRNES of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to dispense with the reading of the Journal.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from South Carolina asks unanimous consent to dispense with the reading of the Journal. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

EULOGIES ON THE LATE SENATOR TILLMAN.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the special order for to-day.

The clerk read as follows:

On motion of Mr. BYRNES of South Carolina, by unanimous consent, *Ordered*, That Sunday, December 15, 1918, at 12 o'clock noon, be set apart for addresses upon the life, character, and public services of Hon. BENJAMIN R. TILLMAN, late a Senator from the State of South Carolina.

Mr. STEVENSON. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following resolutions.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from South Carolina offers resolutions which the clerk will report.

The clerk read as follows:

House resolution 480.

Resolved, That the business of the House be now suspended, that opportunity may be given for tributes to the memory of Hon. BENJAMIN RYAN TILLMAN, late a Senator of the United States from the State of South Carolina.

Resolved, That as a particular mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, and in recognition of his distinguished public career, the House, at the conclusion of these exercises, shall stand adjourned.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate.

Resolved, That the Clerk send a copy of these resolutions to the family of the deceased.

The resolution was agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The chair recognizes the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. STEVENSON].

Mr. STEVENSON. Mr. Speaker, the passing of Senator TILLMAN was an event which marked the closing of a remarkable career of a man in a remarkable period of the history of South Carolina and the history of the United States. I had known Senator TILLMAN since the beginning of his public career, and I desire to express what I have to say about him under three periods.

The first period of his public career was one of political agitation. Business conditions in South Carolina were at a very low ebb in 1885, when he opened his career as an agitator for the betterment of the agricultural conditions in the State. There was no agricultural educational facility worth the name in the State of South Carolina at that time. There was practically no agitation looking to the betterment of agricultural conditions and, although 10 years had elapsed since the people of the State had regained control of their affairs, there was probably less prosperity than there had been 5 or 10 years before.

At a meeting at Bennettsville, in the greatest farming county, from the cotton standpoint, in the cotton belt, in August, 1885, Mr. TILLMAN startled the State by an assault upon the dry rot, as he termed it, which was prevailing in South Carolina, and an assault upon what was considered to be the ark of the covenant, almost, upon which you did not dare to lay your hands. He brought about an agitation which was far-reaching, and whose effect has not yet ceased to be felt in South Carolina.

At that time Capt. TILLMAN as he then was—captain of the Edgefield Hussars—had never asked for or held public office. He disclaimed any desire to hold public office; but he contended that there should be an agricultural institution in South Carolina which should have nothing but agricultural and mechanical education as its object, and have the united support of the agricultural interests of South Carolina.

A good deal of confusion has arisen as to the establishment of the institution which grew up out of that agitation. Claims and counterclaims have been made as to who established it. As a matter of fact, the legislature of 1888, before Senator TILLMAN became a public servant in any capacity, accepted the bequest of Thomas G. Clemson, and provided for the establishment of Clemson College, and in 1889 they made provision for the construction of the building. So many have contended that it was not the work of Senator TILLMAN, because he did not come into power until December, 1890, when he became governor of the State; but they overlook the fact that the agitation which he set in motion brought about the will of Thomas G. Clemson, who left the John C. Calhoun estate to the State of South Carolina for the purpose of establishing Clemson College, and made Senator TILLMAN one of the life trustees in that will.

Therefore it can not be questioned that this agitation promoted the establishment of that institution, which was the apple of his eye as long as he lived, and which is one of the greatest agricultural institutions in the United States, and which has given untold benefits to the State of South Carolina. That is the fact as to the establishment of Clemson College. It was to TILLMAN, not as the Governor, not as the legislator, but to TILLMAN as the political agitator, to whom we owe Clemson College, without any question or possibility of cavil, for that agitation before he ever aspired to public office forced the acceptance of the bequest and the establishment of the institution.

Senator TILLMAN was not a man who was unknown to political life, although he had never aspired to it. When he began his agitation, it is instructive to look at the associates with whom he had grown up. The list of those who were in power in South Carolina, his fellows around the board when they met in social communion, were men of great distinction: United States Senator M. C. Butler, from Edgefield; Gov. John C. Shepherd, from Edgefield; Congressman George D. Tillman, his senior brother, from Edgefield; Commissioner of Agriculture Andrew Pickens Butler, from Edgefield; chairman of the Railroad Commission of South Carolina, Gen. Milledge L. Bonham, from Edgefield; solicitor of the judicial circuit in which he lived; Richard G. Bonham, from Edgefield; United States district attorney, Leroy F. Youmans, from Edgefield, first attorney general and then district attorney—these were the representatives of his county when he began the agitation and were his associates of a lifetime.

To be sure they indicate that certainly in Edgefield political prominence and power were not wanting, and they indicate the fiber of the man who, with his own brother serving in this Hall, instituted a crusade against the conditions that then existed that was destined to hurl from power every man I have named in this distinguished list and leave them as political wrecks upon the shores of time. And yet Senator TILLMAN made that beginning, and the beginning culminated in 1890 when, at the call of the Farmers' Alliance, organized to attempt to ameliorate the conditions of this country, which was then in the throes of a financial panic, he became candidate for governor and was triumphantly elected in 1890.

And that began the period of his career as governor. That career, Mr. Speaker, was one of very distinguished ability and very distinguished ideals. The first and the greatest of his constructive ideas was the establishment in South Carolina of an institution for the technical training of the girls of that State, which has grown now to be the jewel of all of our educational institutions. And yet the statement is frequently met that he was not the founder of Winthrop. That is true in one sense of the word. Winthrop College, for the training of the girls of the State, was founded as an institution in 1887. The annual appropriation for it was $5,200 a year, a paltry pittance beside the $150,000 that we were spending for education of the males of South Carolina.

When he came into the governership one of his first moves was to provide for the establishment of that institution on a firm basis, and in the legislature of 1891 provision was made for the obtaining of a site and suitable building and making proper appropriation, and it was carried through by the people of Rock Hill, one of the progressive communities of the State, giving the State $60,000 to establish the institution within their midst. And to-day they house within the walls of that college, I believe, 1,500 girls, and could house 1,500 more if suitable buildings could be erected; and we appropriate $130,000 every year merely for the support of the institution. Directly as the result of his far-seeing statesmanship toward the education of the youth of South Carolina, you will find 80 per cent of the teachers in the public schools of that State who are the direct product of that great institution. And you go into the homes of South Carolina, all over the State, and you see them shaped by the splendid education that has been received in that college. I say that is the crowning work of his life as governor.

He did several other things. The next was the solving of the suffrage question. We were confronted with a majority, on the popular vote of South Carolina, of 40,000 colored people—40,000 colored votes if they all voted. It had been by the most strenuous and sometimes the most questionable methods that we had maintained white civilization and the control of the white people after we had once regained control, which it took a revolution to do. Senator TILLMAN by his influence as governor brought about the holding of a constitutional convention which settled the suffrage question, in my judgment, forever for South Carolina, because the census now shows that the increase in the white race has so greatly exceeded the increase in the colored race that the voting strength is now equal if all are registered and all capable of registering. But it was his statesmanship that forced the calling of a convention which put an educational and a property qualification upon the one who desired to vote, and the provision was made absolutely equal to all. All a man had to do was either to be able to write and to read the Constitution or have $300 worth of property on the tax books subject to taxation, and he could register and vote.

I have heard a good deal said sometimes in this hall about the discrimination against the southern colored man as to voting. There is no discrimination and never has been in South Carolina since the adoption of this constitution. That was the handiwork of Senator TILLMAN; and next to the establishment of Winthrop, I consider that the greatest work he ever accomplished in State affairs.

He did another thing which shows the remarkable boldness of the man, when he put the State of South Carolina into a monopoly of the liquor business, which most people concede now was a mistake and which after 14 years passed away. And those were the three great highwater marks of achievement in his career as governor.

As a United States Senator he came to office at a time when the people of this country were crying out for an increased circulating medium, when our circulating medium was $27 a head. And when we reflect that to-day it is $56 a head, we can see what an enormous advance has been made. And he arraigned himself on the side of those who were in favor of a great increase and great elasticity in the currency of this country, which has been justified by the enactment of legislation in the last few years

which has relieved the stringency and inelasticity of finance of this country to such an extent that Senator TILLMAN has been justified in every position he took on the financial question.

He also came here at a time when we were practically without a navy and when the construction of a navy was tied up by the extortion of the Steel Trust. He won the title of "Pitchfork Statesman" in his assault upon the people who furnished the armor plate for the construction of our Navy, a title that has gone with him to his grave as a title of honor and one of which he was more proud than of any other title he ever received.

And his history here as United States Senator was bound up with the history of the development of the Navy and the development of the interests in building up the Navy until it was crowned by the establishment of an armor-plate factory, for which he contended 15 years before it came, and the administration and the efficiency of a Navy which has been a thing of pride and a comfort during the late war through which we have passed and we have all had to acknowledge the efficiency, the power, the modesty, and the high-toned conditions of this branch of the service.

As a literary man the Senator was unequaled and unsurpassed in the use of the English language, in logic that went to the heart of every matter, and his most conspicuous effort, in my judgment, in that line was the correspondence conducted with Mr. Henry Watterson, of Louisville, Ky., and Mr. George Harvey, of New York, a few years ago when they combined in an assault upon the then Gov. Wilson, of New Jersey, who was being talked of as a candidate for the Presidency, and a perusal of the correspondence between Senator TILLMAN and them will show how he unhorsed the two past masters in the use of English, and swept away the cobwebs of injustice which they were hanging about the neck of Mr. Wilson; and this helped materially to promote Mr. Wilson's nomination and election to the Presidency.

Now, I want to say just one word as to Senator TILLMAN's private life. For 33 years he and I were personal friends. We frequently divided politically, but the personal relations between us have always been the most cordial; and I consider the strong point which made him unassailable in almost every walk of life was the beautiful character of his family life, which caused him to lean upon and trust and take counsel of his helpmeet, his wife, who stood around him like a protecting wall through all these years; the family life of that man was a benediction, and such a signpost as to point every man to the way of high living in social circles, such that no finger of scorn and no tongue of scandal assail.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, we are met to pay tribute to the memory of one of South Carolina's great men, in order that the record of this Congress may contain some comment upon the career of one of her great statesmen. It is unnecessary that tributes should be paid in order that his State or the Nation might be impressed with the great value of his services, or with the nobleness of his character, because his service in the Nation's Congress speaks for itself. It was not my privilege to have known Senator TILLMAN intimately, but I recall as a young man, when following speeches and the career of men in the United States Senate, the impression that was made when he first came to the Capital of the Republic. I remember how he came before the attention of the citizens of the Nation and left his mark as a fearless statesman. He impressed me as one who despised all sham, and he was not afraid to speak plainly upon any issue or upon any question. He went to the meat of any subject which he undertook to discuss, and he argued and debated with a strength that impressed one as a man discussing a question with his whole soul.

I happened to be designated upon the committee that went upon that sad journey when the remains of Senator TILLMAN were consigned to their last resting place. No one who was present upon that occasion but would be impressed with the sense of loss that was apparent amid the surrounding throng who came to attend the funeral exercises. As I before stated, he was one of South Carolina's great statesmen. He left behind him a name which will be remembered and revered in the days to come. That State has given many great men to the Nation's service—Calhoun, Hampton, Butler—but in these days those who have been privileged to serve with BENJAMIN RYAN TILLMAN I am sure will be of the opinion that his name and his career are fit to be placed upon the same high pedestal to which we look when we think of those men who went before him.

I am reminded that Senator TILLMAN at one time delivered an address in which he compared and linked up, so to speak, the great history of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, which I have the honor in part to represent, and that of the State of South Carolina. It is significant, Mr. Speaker, that to-day in the other branch of this Congress, the senior Senator from my State is among those who are paying tribute to the memory and career of Senator TILLMAN. I refer to the senior Senator from Massachusetts, HENRY CABOT LODGE, who I believe was designated by Senator TILLMAN, either just before his death or sometime ago, to speak upon his career when he should have gone.

Senator TILLMAN, although he brought great fame to the State of South Carolina, will stand forth not only as one of that State's great men, but as one of the Nation's statesmen, one who was intimately connected with many of the great problems with which we have had to contend in these later years. I was interested in hearing of his early activities in the State of South Carolina, and how with that remarkable courage, that indomitable will, he forced himself and the issues which he stood for to the front and gained a place among the councils of his State. We pay this tribute with respect and reverence, with the assurance that his memory will ever be kept green, and that his career will be looked upon as a worthy example to those who aspire to represent others either in the State or the Nation.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. Speaker, BENJAMIN RYAN TILLMAN sat in the seat of the immortal Calhoun in the United States Senate for nearly 24 years—a longer time than anyone else has served as a Senator from South Carolina. At the time of his entry into South Carolina politics I was only a boy, but the events that followed and the leading part he played for more than a quarter of a century have left some vivid recollections. South Carolina, among all of the States, has been noted for having more politics for its size than any other State in the Union, and from the beginning of her history many of its campaigns have attracted Nation-wide interest. She has furnished her quota of public men and statesmen, who have not only left their impress upon the history of the State but upon the history of the Nation, and among those public men and statesmen TILLMAN's name will have to be written.

I will not attempt in this sketch to review South Carolina politics and affairs. The conditions immediately following the Civil War and the corruption of a régime from 1868 up until 1876, when the white people determined to regain control of their governmental affairs, are well known. However, after the political revolution of 1876, resulting in the redemption of the State, there developed an idea among the people that the masses did not have a proper voice in the government, and there was much complaint of government of "aristocracy," "Bourbons," and "ring rule," and in some quarters it was charged that the governor and State officers were named and chosen at the annual dinner of a prominent social club in South Carolina. This naturally resulted in a great deal of unrest among the masses of the people and they were beginning to be prepared for the political revolution that occurred in 1890.

Living in the county of Edgefield, near the banks of the Savannah River, was a farmer, unheard of and unknown, but whose family had written their names upon the brightest pages of the history of the State. This farmer was BENJAMIN RYAN TILLMAN. His brother, Jim Tillman, as Bishop Capers declared at a great rally in the city of Columbia, was the "Oriflame of his regiment" in the war of the Confederacy, and the name of Tillman can be found upon the rolls of those who fought in all of the wars of this country—the War of the Revolution, the Mexican War, the Civil War, the Spanish-American War, in which one of his nephews was a colonel, and afterwards lieutenant governor of his State, and the great World War—one of his sons being now in France, having gone there as captain of his company, and now being in charge as major of his battalion. George D. Tillman for 16 years sat as a Member of this body, and was recognized throughout the Nation as one of its greatest statesmen. BEN TILLMAN, this farmer, taking his cue from the Ellenton riot, from the dark days of '76, and that matchless and gallant leader, Mart Gary, who was known as "The Bald Eagle of Edgefield," picked up the threads of the movement where they were left by him. He knew the conditions of the masses of the people; he came forward and went on the rostrum. At that time it is stated that he was ridiculed and laughed at on account of his poor showing on the stump, notwithstanding the fact that he afterwards developed into one of the greatest stump speakers South Carolina has ever produced. He knew, though, that behind him there was a vast multitude of people who were demanding justice and who were looking to him as their leader. He appeared in the State convention of 1888, and went down in defeat as a leader of the minority in that convention.

He went back to his home; continued his agitation, and in the historic March convention of 1890, he was nominated for

governor of South Carolina. The campaign that followed is memorable in the history of our State, and no true record can be written of it that does not record its causes and great effects. Mr. TILLMAN was elected governor by an overwhelming vote of the white people. After a stormy administration of two years he became a candidate for reelection as governor and was opposed by a distinguished fellow citizen of his own county and ex-governor of the State. In that campaign, South Carolina was again aroused from the mountains to the seaboard, and partisanship and passion ran high, but again a majority of the voters said that he should be their governor. Two years more of his administration was marked by storm and discord, but it gave to the masses that which they sought—freedom of thought and political liberty, which God intended they should have. His terms as governor of South Carolina were signalized by the establishment of the Clemson Agricultural and Mechanical College for boys, at Calhoun's old home, Fort Hill—an agitation which was begun by him in 1886, for industrial and technical education in South Carolina—and this, with the establishment of Winthrop College for girls, stands forth to-day as the greatest educational achievement in the history of the State.

His administration was also signalized by the establishment of the State dispensary system for the control of the liquor traffic, which many people believed then, and believe to-day, that under proper management, is the best solution of the liquor problem. This system was established in the face of an overwhelming vote in favor of prohibition at the election in 1892, and was the cause of much discord in the political, social, and personal affairs of the people of South Carolina. The enforcement of this law, during the latter part of his last administration as governor, gave him an opportunity to show his ability as a bold and daring fighter, which characterized him throughout his political career. In March, 1894, in a clash between some of the constables appointed by him for the enforcement of this law, and some citizens at Darlington, who thought that their rights had been invaded, some were killed and many others wounded, and the riot which ensued came near resulting in serious trouble throughout the State. However, Gov. TILLMAN took charge of the situation, ordered out the entire militia of the State, took charge of the telegraph lines and railroads, and very soon restored order, and there was no further trouble.

When he had served two terms as governor, he was overwhelmingly elected to the United States Senate—having made a county to county canvass throughout the State for that office.

Senator TILLMAN was a striking figure, and he is missed by the people of his State and in the councils of the Nation. He will go down in the history of South Carolina and of this Nation as one of the strongest men who has served South Carolina as governor or represented her in the United States Senate. Of his services as a Senator they can and will be spoken of better by those who served with him there for the past quarter of a century, but on this occasion I can not refrain from quoting the closing paragraphs of an editorial written by John K. Aull, in the Charleston American, upon the death of Senator TILLMAN:

Undoubtedly, while he went to Washington under most unwelcome conditions, being openly hostile to what he believed to be the wicked Cleveland régime, his genius soon allayed the errors and suspicions of his confrères and he became a shining light. Space does not permit us to sketch even briefly the many commanding positions he assumed in legislation, nor is this the place. We have watched him there upon the Senate floor matching his genius with giants of the old days and coming off never second best. His name will long live to heighten the fame of Carolina in a body whose traditions number among them the glory of Calhoun.

Even had his health not failed him, it is gravely doubtful if in recent or future years he could mingle with the same zest amongst the almost entirely new faces in the Senate. His old colleagues were gone. They were to him merely spirits that cast perhaps across his daily path through the Senate aisle shadows of bygone days, days when the polished Senator Hoar, who learned so warmly to love him, referred, not banteringly, but earnestly to him as "the best lawyer in the Senate." Hoar, Vest, Bacon, Allison, Daniels, Hale, Cockrell, Aldrich, and many like them, who left him one by one for awhile are with him now—for although many of these differed with him and often with one another, they were all one in pure Americanism, loving and serving the land they honored with an untarnished patriotism.

So let us leave him with them. The light of heaven shines upon those mooted questions over which they opposed only the feeble light of even their great intellects. There will be no "adjournments" there, no "points of order," no "filibuster," no tariffs, subsidies, or silver question to wrangle over, but all sweet peace, truth, harmony, and happiness forever.

What more appropriate may we say than that he deserves the lines written upon the death of Napoleon:

"The lightnings may flash and the loud thunders rattle;
He heeds not, he hears not; he's free from all pain;
He sleeps his last sleep, he has fought his last battle;
No sound can awake him to glory again!"

In his native soil, in the little village of Trenton, there now rests in peace one who forged his way to a high place among the truly great of this Nation, and

Taller he seems in death.

Mr. PADGETT. Mr. Speaker, I feel that I can add nothing, or but little at best, to the eloquent tributes that have already been spoken concerning the life work of a splendid character who figured prominently for more than a quarter of a century in the national affairs of our Government. I, however, was associated largely with him, he being chairman of the Committee of Naval Affairs of the Senate, and I of the Committee of Naval Affairs of the House. This afforded an opportunity for official and personal association.

I desire, first of all, to bear testimony to the cordial good friendship which existed between us. Senator TILLMAN was a unique character. He was built in a mold strictly his own. He was unique in many respects, and the very uniqueness of his character not only attracted attention but challenged admiration. He was a man of strong personality. His personality was positive and decidedly his own. We can not find, I think, in private or public life a duplicate of Senator TILLMAN. He possesssed traits of personal character that not only attracted, not only challenged our esteem, but gained for him admiration, and brought him forward prominently in the affairs of the Government.

He was a man of strong convictions. There was nothing, if I may use a homely expression, of milk and cider in his composition. He was a man who believed sincerely and strongly whatever he believed, and he had the courage to express his convictions. He was a man of persistent purpose. Once he was convinced of the righteousness of his cause, once he was satisfied of the desirability of his course of conduct, once that it came to him as a conviction of duty, there was no let up. Continually, persistently he strove for that which his judgment and his conscience approved. As we stand under these circumstances, and would give expression not in mere formal words, but in the sincere convictions which we entertain of the man, all of us must admire this persistency of purpose, this strength of conviction, this strong personality.

He was a man of strong likes and dislikes. A man who has a strong personality, who has a persistent purpose, who has strong convictions of right and of wrong, a man who draws the line tautly between right and wrong in personal life, in private affairs, in public affairs, in the duties and responsibilities of government, could not be otherwise in the natural order of things than a man of strong likes and dislikes. He drew his friends to him with a strong grasp, and those in whom he did not have confidence—those whose integrity of purpose or of character he doubted—he repelled, because there was a congeniality between Senator TILLMAN and the truth, and there was an aspersion between him and guile and wrong. Hence it is that when we speak of him as a man of strong likes, a man in whom flowed strongly and vigorously the milk of human kindness for those who shared his esteem, we must at the same time admire that corollary attribute of character that he despised hypocrisy and made it manifest on all occasions.

He broke away from the established custom of conservatism. That was natural, and that was one of the prominent outstanding traits of his character, and one of the strong, predominant features of his life and his services.

Most of us run along in the way of least resistance. We go along the line of established organization, of established conservatism. It was not so with Senator TILLMAN. He had some convictions about the existing orders of things. Some things were going along which did not receive the sanction of his judgment or the approval of his conscience, and he broke away completely and strongly from the organized conservatism of the day and started out on lines of his own thought and of his own judgment and approval.

I would not seek to compare him in all respects, but the suggestion occurs to me that in the olden days John the Baptist broke away from the established conservatism in religious affairs. John Knox broke away from the established organization. Martin Luther battled the conservatism which he believed was not only promulgating but establishing error and wrong. And in political matters in his State, and to some extent in the Nation, Senator TILLMAN broke away from this organized conservatism, and he challenged the thought and attention, and he brought the thought and attention of the people of his own State and of the Nation to think along other and different lines.

Senator TILLMAN was honest. He became known here and was often spoken of as "honest BEN TILLMAN." However

much anyone differed with him, however much they might separate themselves from his conclusions, however much they might challenge his doctrines of political economy, no one ever doubted or really challenged his personal honesty and integrity of character or his political honesty and sincerity of purpose.

Again, Mr. Speaker, he was faithful to the trust that was reposed in him. No one has ever called him a derelict in politics. No one has ever spoken of him as in any way betraying the trust and the confidence which the people, not only of his State but of the Union, reposed in him, as an honest man and a public servant. So that to-day, under these surroundings, we can speak of him as an honest man and a faithful public servant.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, coming here as he did under peculiar and unique surroundings, occupying at the first a strange and unique attitude that called forth many criticisms and comments in the papers, causing individuals and the press to speak in terms that were out of the ordinary routine of political literature, he grew in the esteem and in the affection of his associates and of the country.

During the past summer the end came somewhat suddenly. I was selected as one of the committee to go to his home in South Carolina to lay away his body for the resurrection. It was only his body that we laid in the ground, not BEN TILLMAN. His spirit had risen into that higher, nobler, grander, larger, better life where the aspirations of his soul in all the years of his life—and a large, rich life it had been—had said, "It is not death, but life I crave; a larger, better, richer, fuller life I would have."

He realized it, and he has gone to the reward of the just. Wherever the honest, wherever the faithful are, Senator TILLMAN is there, and he has left here with us the name, the reputation, the character of an honest and faithful man.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from South Carolina, Mr. NICHOLLS.

Mr. NICHOLLS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, it is indeed hard for me to add anything to the wonderful tributes and the just tributes that have been paid here to our deceased colleague, Senator TILLMAN. I come from the people and from the section of the country that, when TILLMAN started, were bitterly opposed to him. From the time I was a child I had been taught that Senator TILLMAN was representing what was not best for the State, although the people with whom I most associated did not for one minute question his honor or his integrity. On one occasion when I was a mere boy I was talking to the overseer on a large plantation in my home county. He was, as we knew the word, a strong Tillmanite. The man who owned that plantation was as bitter against Senator TILLMAN as any man in South Carolina. The overseer and the man who owned the plantation had been boys together before the Civil War. In fact, the overseer's father had been the overseer of the owner's father before the Civil War.

I asked him, purely from curiosity, "How in the world can you support TILLMAN?" He said: "Sam, So-and-So told me the other day that we needed a reform in South Carolina; that ring rule had long existed; and that while he was a party in a way to the ring rule, something ought to be done, and that something ought to be started to give the honest, common people a chance to have a voice in this Government. I said"—that is, this man said—"'That is exactly what TILLMAN is trying to do.' He said: "It should be done, but I don't think TILLMAN is the man." And this overseer said to me, "It did not occur to me that it made any particular difference who the man was, what we wanted was a reform, and we could change the man if we found he was not the right one." To-day, Mr. Speaker, the man who made that remark about not believing that Senator TILLMAN was the right man is his friend and was his friend at the time of his death.

As one of my colleagues has stated, and I truly believe, there is no State in the Union where politics is so bitter and so partisan as in my own State of South Carolina. I am not referring to the two great parties, but to factional politics within the party. One reason that I give for this is because in our State all candidates for office go upon the same stump and have joint debates which at times get very personal. Their followers naturally take sides, and I have seen the time in South Carolina—and my other colleagues from there have seen the same thing—when a man almost took his life in his hand to go upon the stump there on either side.

When I was a boy I once asked why Senator TILLMAN was not afraid of having more fights, as I expressed it, and a gentleman from our home town said, "Well, I will tell you, Sam, why he is not afraid. It is because most of the fighting men are on his side of the proposition." That was largely true, for the people of South Carolina thought that they had been mistreated by certain politicians, and the people of South Carolina who supported Senator TILLMAN were willing to fight for those rights of which they thought they had been deprived, and they got behind him and elected him governor. What a howl went up through this country.

Almost every newspaper, not only of South Carolina but throughout the United States, called him a demagogue, called him everything that they could well call him and not be indicted for libel. What did he do? He "stuck to his guns," if you will pardon a crude expression. He worked for the interests he had promised to serve. He was not afraid. No man in the State could run him from the stump. He went before his people, and he advocated their cause. He was reelected governor in spite of strong opposition from strong men. The money powers of his State, while, of course, I do not charge them with being corrupt, were against him. The newspapers of the State were largely against him, but the masses of the toiling people of South Carolina stood behind him. He was reelected governor, as I said, and afterwards was elected to the United States Senate. Why, Mr. Speaker, I remember, although at that time I was too young to have any voice in politics, that there was strong talk in South Carolina that the Senate would not seat him when he came. But he was seated; and, Mr. Speaker, in his early days here, with that strong tongue that he had, he caused some men who had mocked and laughed at him to be very strong for him before he got through. He turned out to be not what the papers said he was, a radical and an obstructionist. I will not say at the time of his death that he was what South Carolina would have called a conservative. Senator TILLMAN could not be conservative. As my colleague from Tennessee [Mr. PADGETT] has stated, when he believed a thing there could be no conservatism. He worked to the end that he thought was right.

When I came to Washington, if you will pardon me for referring to myself, and I do it for the reason that I did not know him well when I came here, I went to his office the first day and said, "Senator, I came in to pay my respects."

He knew pretty well the attitude of every man in South Carolina as to himself. If you mentioned a man from Barnwell, Spartanburg, Columbia, Oconee, if he was a man of any political prominence, Senator TILLMAN could tell you how he stood with him in his politics. I said, "Senator, I came in to pay my respects." He said, "Sam, I am glad to see you here, but I have not a particle of use for your politics." That was his blunt way of speaking. It made me angry, and I said, "Senator, I have got no more for yours than you have for mine." He said, "I will make a trade with you. If you will let me alone over there I will let you alone over here." I said, "You have traded." And I walked out of his office. The next day the phone rang, and the Senator said, "Sam, can you come to my office?" I went over, and he said, "I did not mean anything yesterday. We have differed in politics, but I want us to get along together. You are a new man, a young man, and I possibly can give you advice and information that you will need." I shook hands with the Senator, and from that day to the day of his death he was like a father to me. There was no time when I needed advice that I did not go to Senator TILLMAN, knowing that I would get good and honest advice.

To show you the character of the Senator, the night before the last campaign opened I went to him and asked him to do a favor for a friend of mine. It turned out that we were both very much criticized by some of the newspapers because we granted the favor, a favor which was nothing more than was just and right. The Senator at that time thought that he would be in the race for the Senate again. I went to Senator TILLMAN and I said, "Senator, I know that you made this recommendation because I asked you to do it, because you believed I would not mislead you. Feeling as I do about it, I believe it my duty to come out in the papers and state that I will take the whole responsibility for that action in case it hurts you in your race." He said, "I will not let you do it. I will never put the responsibility for what I do on any man. It is true your recommendation had something to do with my signing it, but I have signed it and I am behind it."

That shows you, Mr. Speaker, the manner of man that Senator TILLMAN was. I am sorry I have been unable, on account of being away from the city, to write what I consider a fitting eulogy of this great man. Our State, as has been well said, has produced great men, but no man in the history of South Carolina has ever been in a position to make bigger history, to make more lasting history than Senator TILLMAN. We all remember at the time when the Democratic Party took charge of the Senate there was some talk throughout the country that Senator TILLMAN wanted to be chairman of another committee than Naval Affairs. He was made chairman of Naval Affairs, and, Mr. Speaker, I would rather be chairman of the Naval Affairs Committee or of the Military Affairs Committee, if I cared to go down in history

and properly serve my country in the time of this great world war, than to be chairman of any committee in either branch of Congress.

He was not stingy; he was not extravagant. He believed that what was necessary in this war should be given and freely given. And he gave to the service of his country one of the noblest boys whom I know. He was my personal friend. I say he gave him to his country, but fortunately he has not been killed. He is in France now. He is a "chip off the old block," and I am proud to say that, although this country has sustained the loss of our great statesman, he leaves one or more behind him who some day may be able to in part fill his place.

The last time I talked with Senator TILLMAN was the day before his last stroke of paralysis. He was discussing every phase of the war and seemed to think that his days were numbered. He told me that he hoped, regardless of politics in South Carolina, he would live long enough to see America and her allies victorious in this war. If he had lived that long, I believe his every ambition would have been fulfilled. My great regret is that God in His infinite wisdom did not see fit to allow him to live to see the plans which he had so carefully prepared carried out to a successful conclusion.

He died as he had lived, "with his boots on," fighting for the people, for democracy, and for everything that he thought right and just for the upbuilding of humanity.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from South Carolina asks unanimous consent to revise and extend his remarks. The Chair would suggest to the gentleman that he request that unanimous consent be given to all those who may desire to extend their remarks.

Mr. NICHOLLS of South Carolina. I make that request, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection it is so ordered. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from South Carolina, Mr. WHALEY.

Mr. WHALEY. Mr. Speaker, believing that others who will speak on this occasion will give a biographical sketch of South Carolina's illustrious son in whose honor we have met, I shall avoid the probability of repetition and undertake a brief analysis of those characteristics of the late Senator BENJAMIN RYAN TILLMAN which made him so valuable a citizen and Governor of the State of South Carolina and such an effective Member of the United States Senate.

TILLMAN was born on a farm, reared on a farm, and, after the attainment of the years of manhood, followed agriculture as an occupation. It is said that his agricultural experience was not particularly successful and in this respect he had much in common with the agricultural producers of his time, not only in South Carolina but throughout the United States. During his years of ill-rewarded efforts upon the farm his observation, his difficulties, and his disappointments impressed indelibly upon his mind the severe disadvantages and the great discouragements which all too frequently surround the agricultural producer. It was through an endeavor to alleviate the condition of the farming class that TILLMAN entered public life and gave his attention primarily to the solution of the great problems which must be solved before American agriculture can be placed upon a firm and satisfactory foundation.

From his youth he had grappled with the most practical of problems in a most practical way. He learned in the hard school of adversity. His principles of economics were not gleaned from books. Although he was in later life one of the best-read men in the best of literature, the mental training which enabled him to achieve success was acquired chiefly as an incident and result of his daily observation of the circumstances under which the producing classes labor and the evils with which they must contend.

He beheld ignorance among people who are conducting an industry which requires the widest training and skill.

He observed injustice which deprived the agricultural worker of the due reward of his labor. Contemplation of these evils and injustices not only developed in him a power to reason, but nourished deep-seeded emotions which became predominating features of his political activities and public addresses. No amount of abstract economic reasoning would have produced the political revolution which he led prior to his election to the governorship of South Carolina. In the words of an illustrious President of the United States, the farmers of South Carolina were "confronted by conditions, and not theories." No ordinary methods would have aroused them to united effort sufficiently organized and sufficiently aggressive to overthrow those who were at that time dominant in the public affairs of his State.

It has been asserted and is quite likely true that TILLMAN frequently indulged in extravagances of statement which more deliberate and careful men would have avoided. No one, however, has ever accused him of overstating a fact for an ulterior or selfish purpose. Dealing with conditions which required heroic remedies, he made his attacks with what might be considered a reckless abandon, upon the assumption that the end justified the means. He was seeking results, and his overwhelming victory in the face of tremendous opposition seems to have justified the measures he adopted. That a farmer should be elected and reelected Governor of South Carolina at that time in the political history of the State was an accomplishment which could not have been achieved by the ordinary weapons of political conflict.

TILLMAN's mind was that of a nonconformist. He acknowledged the binding force of no political conventionalities. Before he had been one month in the United States Senate he had broken the rule which requires silence on the part of a new Member, and had made a speech which earned him the sobriquet of "Pitchfork TILLMAN." From that day to the time of his retirement from active participation in the work of the Senate he was recognized as a factor to be considered in almost every important piece of legislation. He was not one who delighted to participate in discussion merely for the purpose of showing his skill in debate, but, whenever any subject appealed to him as calling for action on his part, he threw the whole power of his keen intellect, his marvelous skill at repartee, and his unsurpassed command of vitriolic language into the discussion.

He asked no quarter and he gave none. Naturally this style of fighting made him few warm personal friends but aroused many enmities. It is well known and universally acknowledged fact, however, that none of the animosities thus aroused cost him either the confidence or the respect of his associates. His honesty of purpose was not brought in dispute. Knowing the purity of his motives, even those who felt the sting of his arrows admired his skill, and held him personally in the highest esteem. His diatribes furnished frequent occasion for jest, but they supplied little humor to those who were the objects of his invective.

Unlike most men who enter upon crusades against economic evils, TILLMAN was not destructive. He founded the Clemson College for the training of the young men in agriculture and the applied sciences. He established the Winthrop Normal and Industrial School for women. He secured the enactment of more just and equitable laws for the assessment of taxes. He secured the election of railroad commissioners by the people, with authority vested in them to fix passenger and freight rates. He secured the enactment of the primary system of party nominations. He was the author of the dispensary law which eliminated the public barroom from South Carolina and led the way for prohibition. These were a few of the more important accomplishments of four years in the governorship, during which time he had as strong an opposition as ever a governor faced.

Entering the United States Senate in 1895 he was for 23 consecutive years a member of that body. Although the Republicans were in control of the Senate when the railroad rate bill was under consideration in 1906, a split among the Republicans threw the management of that measure upon Senator TILLMAN—a task which he performed with much credit to himself and to his party. He was an advocate of a large navy and made his influence felt. In the framing of a multitude of important measures he participated actively, always fearlessly and aggressively representing what he believed to be the best interests of the people of the United States and of his own State.

To the youth of America the career of BENJAMIN RYAN TILLMAN should be of interest. It will be worth while for them to remember that it was through no favor of good fortune or prestige of family that he attained his high position in the councils of our Government. Neither was it personal ambition that led him into public life. He saw the need of public reforms, and although the task was great and the prospect of success doubtful, he undertook it without hesitation and devoted himself without reserve to the amelioration of the condition of his fellow citizens. He had few of the advantages of school education but neglected no opportunity for the improvement of his mind. He had confidence in himself and accepted his own judgment as his guide, even though he diverged from the course and methods laid down by American political leaders during a century of our national history.

His career emphasizes the value of practical experience in early youth, courage to undertake a difficult task, and willingness to be a nonconformist when sound judgment and high motives indicate that as the proper course. It would be difficult to find in American political history another instance of a man

whose public career shows advancement direct from the farm to the governorship and thence to the United States Senate solely as the result of individual merit and ability.

Mr. BYRNES of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, BENJAMIN RYAN TILLMAN, the man whom we to-day honor, was born in Edgefield County, South Carolina, August 11, 1847. He was a son of Benjamin Ryan Tillman and Sophia Hancock, and was the youngest of eleven children. When he was but two years of age his father died, and he was reared by his mother on the plantation about twelve miles from the town of Edgefield. He studied at home under private tutors until he was fourteen years of age, when he attended a school conducted by Mr. George Golphin, a scholarly man who enjoyed the distinction of having served as tutor to Senator Butler, Gen. Mart Gary, and many others prominent in the political life of South Carolina. In July, 1864, when not quite seventeen years of age, he left school and volunteered in the service of the Confederate Army, but while on his way to join the army he was taken sick, and it was during this illness that he lost his left eye by reason of the formation of an abscess. For two years he was an invalid. Upon his recovery he went to Florida where he spent a year, returning in 1868 to Edgefield County, where he engaged in farming. While thus engaged Senator Tillman devoted his leisure time to study, in his own language, "reading everything of value he could lay his hands upon." He had the most retentive memory of any man I ever knew, and it enabled him in recent years to quote from the poets, verses he had not read for years. Even in speeches delivered by him in early life this familiarity with the old masters was evident, and was a constant source of surprise to those who knew that he had not enjoyed the privilege of a college or university course.

When, in 1876, the white people of South Carolina determined to overthrow the rule of the carpetbagger, the scalawag, and the negro, Tillman participated with all the force and aggressiveness that has characterized every effort of his life. He organized the Red Shirts in that community. Under Capt. A. P. Butler he participated in what is known as the Hamburg riot, and on that occasion demonstrated his physical courage and his capacity for leadership. With the Edgefield Hussars he started to the Ellenton riot, but his company did not reach there in time to participate in the fight.

With the redemption of the State from negro rule, Tillman resumed his quiet life upon the farm, and from this seclusion did not emerge until 1885 when he went to Bennettsville, S. C., as a delegate to the annual meeting of the South Carolina Agricultural Society. Tillman had never delivered a public address, but upon reaching Bennettsville he announced that he was going to address the convention and would have something out of the ordinary to say to the delegates. He did not disappoint them. He pictured the poverty of the farmers, three-fourths of whom were borrowing money upon their crops before they were made, and with fiery eloquence he denounced the State officials for their indifference to the agricultural interests of the State. He urged the farmers to demand the establishment of an agricultural school worthy of the name, in connection with the South Carolina College, and to require the board of agriculture to annually hold farmers' institutes in the various counties of the State. He spoke for an hour, and when he concluded, though neither he nor his hearers realized it, he had started a revolution in the State of South Carolina.

From that day, August 5, 1885, to the day of his death, July 3, 1918, TILLMAN occupied the center of the political stage in South Carolina, and the story of his public life is the story of the political life of the State. To appreciate the impression made by his Bennettsville speech, one has to understand the political conditions then existing. Prior to the Civil War the State of South Carolina was ruled by a small group of men of great intelligence and of high character, most of whom resided in Charleston and Columbia. The State officials were generally selected by this group from among the professional men of the State. The one-horse farmer and the man without social standing never dreamed of his having the right to hold office and he even entertained some doubt as to his right to vote. Certainly had one of them announced his candidacy for office, he would have been in imminent danger of sequestration in an asylum for the insane. At the conclusion of the war the old leaders, their heirs and assigns, immediately resumed their control of the Democratic party; but as there was a majority of 30,000 negroes of voting age, the Republican party, composed of the negroes, the carpetbaggers, and the scalawags, were able to control the elections and did run the State government until 1876, when negro rule was overthrown and white supremacy established for all time.

Immediately following 1876 there was a natural disposition on the part of the rank and file of the people to blindly follow the leadership of the men who had controlled the party in the fight for the redemption of the State. Again there was the realization that any division within the party would endanger the freedom so dearly purchased. Consequently any criticism of the conduct of the State government was met with the warning that such a course would cause a division in the party and make possible a recurrence of Negro rule with all of its horrors and outrages. It is manifest that this condition of affairs made it easy for the old leaders to perpetuate their control of the government. Conditions were such that corruption in the government could have existed without the knowledge of the people. But to the everlasting credit of those in control it must be said that, nothwithstanding their autocratic power and the unlimited opportunity for misuse of that power, careful and even hostile investigation in after years failed to disclose evidence of corruption on the part of a single State official. The honesty of those in control was testified to by Senator TILLMAN in an address delivered in the Senate in 1898, when he described the conditions then existing in the following language:

> The State was democratic or independent in national politics, but it was aristocratic in local affairs. This aristocracy, be it said to its credit, gave to the State as good government, so far as purity and honesty is concerned, as any country ever had. But a prouder, more arrogant or hot-headed ruling class never existed.

With this statement of the political conditions one can appreciate the sensation caused by the speech of TILLMAN at Bennettsville in August, 1885. It brought down upon his head the wrath of the press as well as of the political leaders. "Farmer Ben" became the target for their satire and abuse. In a series of letters he defended his course and urged upon the farmers of the State his suggestion to establish an agricultural college. He cited the agricultural colleges of Mississippi and of Michigan as proof of the practicability and the wisdom of his suggestion, and published a lot of data secured from Stephen D. Lee, then President of the Mississippi College. His letters enlisted the support of many of the leading farmers of the State, who in the spring of 1886 held a convention at which resolutions indorsing his views were adopted. As the desired object could be accomplished only by legislation it was inevitable that the "Farmers' Alliance," as it was called, should take an interest in the elections. The old leaders, however, still firmly held the reins and the movement had not attained sufficient momentum to wrest control from them.

TILLMAN continued his agitation, delivering addresses in various counties of the State during the year 1887. In the political campaign of 1888 the farmers endeavored to induce several of the old political leaders to lead their fight, but their efforts were in vain. Two years later, in the spring of 1890, what was known as the "Shell Manifesto" was issued, a document that became the platform of the reform movement. A convention followed and TILLMAN was selected as the nominee for governor. Attorney General Earle and Gen. Bratton were later selected as the nominees of the faction that became known as the Conservatives. Of the seven hundred lawyers of the State only forty were known to be supporters of TILLMAN. The press was unanimously opposed to him, but a joint debate was held in every county of the State and as nearly every man, woman, and child in the State turned out to hear the speakers, TILLMAN was able to present his cause to the people. The feeling between the factions became so great that at many meetings the speakers were unable to make themselves heard, the factions engaging in a contest to see which could cheer their champion the loudest and the longest. After the first few meetings there was never any doubt about the result, and TILLMAN was nominated, carrying all but four counties of the State.

Dissatisfied with the result, the opposition placed an independent ticket in the field in the general election, but many of the Conservative leaders of the opposition failed to support the independent movement, and the followers of TILLMAN were even more determined, the result being the overwhelming election of Capt. TILLMAN.

In this campaign TILLMAN demonstrated his wonderful ability as a stump speaker. Picturesque figure that he was, with his Napoleonic features, shaded by his broad-rimmed hat, he never failed to attract the attention of the people. In this campaign he spoke to the people in a language they understood, of their right to participate in the government of the State, and not merely to register the will of others. In passionate language he denounced the editor of the News Courier, Capt. F. W. Dawson, the brilliant leader of the opposition, and as he inveighed against ring rule he aroused his supporters to such a fever of excitement that many of them were willing to fight for him,

and, if need be, to die for him. His wonderful success as a public speaker is the more remarkable in view of the fact that he was thirty-six years old when he delivered his first public address at Bennettsville, and had he entered public life as early as do most men it is interesting to speculate upon the degree of perfection he might have attained. As it was, I do not believe, he had an equal.

During TILLMAN's first term as governor he was unable to accomplish many of the reforms he advocated because of the lack of cooperation on the part of the legislature, a majority of whom were his supporters. In 1892 he asked for reelection and in the campaign that followed designated many of the legislators as mere "driftwood" and urged the people to elect a legislature that would support him.

For reelection he was opposed by one of the ablest men in the State, ex-Governor John C. Sheppard. As in the previous campaign, factional feeling ran high, there being as clear a division between the Tillmanites and anti-Tillmanites as there is between Democrats and Republicans. The joint debates drew tremendous audiences and the feeling was so intense that men came armed, and only the coolness of the candidates prevented great loss of life. TILLMAN was reelected and very few anti-Tillmanites were elected to the legislature.

Of his service as governor it is fair to quote from his last message to the legislature, what he regarded as the achievements of his administrations:

First. The erection and endowment of Clemson College.

Second. The overthrow of the Coosaw monopoly.

Third. The just and equitable assessment of taxes on railroads and other corporations and the victory in the courts compelling them to pay.

Fourth. The passage of the dispensary law and the destruction of the barrooms.

Fifth. Refunding of the State debt, which saved $78,000 a year in interest.

Sixth. The establishment of Winthrop Normal and Industrial College for Women.

Seventh. Election of the railroad commission by the people and allowing them to fix passenger and freight rates.

Eighth. The inauguration of the primary system of party nominations for all offices in the gift of the people.

The student will search in vain for a record of achievement by any South Carolina executive to compare with this record of constructive reforms. The unfriendly critic may criticise the establishment of the dispensary system, but as we now look back upon it and recall that its establishment meant the abolishment of the barroom, we must concede that it was a long step toward the prohibition of the sale of alcoholic liquors. In theory the plan was possibly the best solution of the problem, if liquors were to be sold under any system at all, but in practice it failed because of the inability to divorce the liquor business from the politics of a State, and the dispensary system soon became so corrupt that men who at heart were not in favor of prohibition were only too glad of an opportunity to vote for prohibition in order to get rid of the dispensary system.

But no man can question the beneficial effect of the other constructive reforms above enumerated. TILLMAN by his eloquence aroused the people to a realization of their right to participate in the government of the State, and then through the primary system he furnished them the means to exercise that right. But he did not stop there. Having placed this power in the hands of the people, with the vision of a statesman he recognized that the greatest safeguard against the abuse of such power was the education of the people, and therefore in addition to extending the common schools he established during his administration the Clemson College for boys and the Winthrop College for girls. Much of the material and moral progress of South Carolina during the last 20 years can be traced to the beneficient influence of these two institutions that will ever stand as enduring monuments to the memory of Governor TILLMAN.

During his first campaign for governor, TILLMAN, in closing his speech at Anderson, S. C., said:

> How many of you can look back and recall the names of South Carolina's governors? Take out the names of the seven since 1876, and with the exception of Hayne, McDuffie, and Hammond the names of the rest are written in sand. I do not want to be such a governor. My aspiration is higher and holier than that. I would like to be a governor to whom after ages will look back and say that he was a "Carolinian and a patriot."

When one considers the far-reaching beneficial effects of the achievements above enumerated, he must conclude that the ambition of TILLMAN was gratified; that after ages will look back upon his administrations, and looking back will say "He was a Carolinian and a patriot."

At the conclusion of his second term as governor TILLMAN opposed Senator M. C. Butler, who was seeking reelection to the United States Senate. His hold upon the people was as strong as ever, and he was easily elected over his opponent. From the day that TILLMAN entered the Senate he impressed himself upon the Nation just as he had upon the State of South Carolina. His first speech in that body was delivered to a crowded Senate and a crowded gallery, and attracted the attention of the people of the entire country. In many respects it resembled his first public speech at Bennettsville, in 1885. As on that occasion the conditions were ripe for the appearance of a TILLMAN. In the South and West there was great unrest and great dissatisfaction with the administration of Cleveland, and there had begun the agitation that culminated in the free-silver fight of 1896. TILLMAN took the fight of the farmers to the Senate. Announcing that he was not familiar with the proprieties of the Senate and that he intended to use plain, blunt words, he proceeded to denounce Cleveland as no President had ever been denounced in the Senate Chamber. He pictured the economic conditions of the agricultural sections of the country as a result of the low prices for farm products, and charged the existence in Wall Street of a group of men who controlled the credit of the country, and thus the destinies of the people. The speech attracted the attention of the country. The Nation seemed about to divide itself, as South Carolina had, into Tillmanite and anti-Tillmanite camps. Pitchfork Ben became the target of the editorial writers of the East, who declared that, by the language he used, he had disgraced the Senate. The West, however, hailed him as a fearless exponent of the evils they believed to exist.

In the Senate the effect of his speech was to cause his colleagues to conclude that while he was rough and rude in his manner of speech, that he was a man of extraordinary ability, whose acquaintance might with profit be cultivated. And as they learned to know him they came to know that he was absolutely honest and sincere, and within a very short time he had won the genuine affection of the leaders of both parties in the Senate. He loved to participate in the debates, and was always a dangerous opponent because of his fund of information, his quick mind, and his ready wit. The man who interrupted him while he was speaking always regretted it. The rules of the Senate were always a source of irritation to him. Shortly after his service began he started to speak on a live subject in which he was greatly interested, but which bore no direct relation to the pending bill. A Senator, who desired to prevent his speaking, arose and asked, "Mr. President, what is before the Senate?" "I am before the Senate," said TILLMAN, and while his interrogator was counting the casualties TILLMAN proceeded to finish his speech.

He knew little of parliamentary law and cared less. The truth is that TILLMAN had no regard for any kind of law. In his consideration of a proposition there was but one question, "Is it just?" If he became convinced that the object sought to be accomplished was a just and righteous one, he was impatient of any interference by any law, rule, or regulation.

With this indifference to law, and with the absolute power that he wielded while governor, the salvation of the people was that TILLMAN acted always from impulse, and TILLMAN's impulses were always good.

It is impossible here to refer to his many achievements in the Senate. He often referred to his fight in the Fifty-seventh Congress to compel recognition of South Carolina's claim against the Federal Government for money loaned by the State in the War of 1812. By this, $386,000 of the State's bonds held by the Federal Government as a debt against the State were canceled, and $89,137.36 was returned to the State treasury in cash. That was a memorable fight because it involved the two most picturesque figures in Congressional life—Farmer Ben TILLMAN and Uncle Joe CANNON. Mr. CANNON, as chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, refused to agree to the Senate amendment to an appropriation bill providing for the payment of the South Carolina claim. TILLMAN got the floor in the Senate and declared that unless the conferees agreed to it the other appropriation bills not yet passed would never pass, because he intended to talk from then until 12 o'clock the next day, March 4, when the Congress must adjourn. At 3 o'clock in the morning TILLMAN seemed able to make good his threat and rather than provoke an extra session Mr. CANNON yielded.

During the control of the Senate by the Republicans TILLMAN was placed in charge of the railroad-rate bill, and his successful handling of it won the commendation of his colleagues.

His exposure of the frauds of the armor-plate manufacturers finally led to the construction by the Government of its own armor-plate plant.

He established the Charleston Navy Yard and has consistently labored for its development.

As chairman of the Naval Affairs Committee he devoted his time and talents to the development of the Navy, and he lived to see his efforts rewarded by the demonstration of naval efficiency in the world war that has won the plaudits of the Nation.

As a legislator TILLMAN possessed what, unfortunately, many legislators do not possess—the courage of his convictions. Former Senator Bailey, who for years sat by the side of TILLMAN in the Senate, declares that TILLMAN was not only the truest man he ever knew, but one of the most courageous. Mr. Bailey states that when the Senate was about to vote on the question of expelling Senator Lorimer that TILLMAN sent for him, and when he went to his office he saw about 100 telegrams piled upon his desk. TILLMAN handed him about a dozen of them to read. The messages from South Carolinians declared the people of South Carolina were unanimous in the belief that Lorimer should be unseated and that if he failed to vote to expel him it would endanger his reelection to the Senate. TILLMAN told him that a man who was very close to him had come to Washington that morning to advise him that if he voted against expulsion he could not be reelected. Bailey said he knew how anxious TILLMAN was to be reelected because of his interest in pending problems and stated, "TILLMAN, that is a question you must submit to your own conscience and I have no right to advise you." "I expected you to say that," said TILLMAN. "I have submitted it to my conscience, and whether I be right or wrong, on the record before us I do not believe the man should be expelled, and whatever be the consequences I shall not vote to unseat him." He went to the Senate Chamber and voted his convictions. Many South Carolinians differed with him, but they had an abiding confidence in the honesty of BEN TILLMAN and respected his courage, and I doubt whether his vote in this case alienated a single friend.

TILLMAN'S service in the Senate quickly made him a national figure and he was in great demand as a public speaker. It was CHAMP CLARK, Speaker of this House, who first suggested to a chautauqua organization that TILLMAN should be induced to go upon the lecture platform. They succeeded in inducing him to go upon a lecture tour, and thirty days after he started the president of the organization advised Mr. CLARK that TILLMAN was the best drawing card they had. While he had several lectures, his lecture upon the race problem attracted most attention. Through this lecture he undoubtedly presented to the people of the North more clearly than did any other man the view of the South upon this question. But while rendering his section a service, the fatigue of the travel, after an arduous session, weakened him physically and contributed to his physical breakdown. He was stricken with paralysis. From this stroke he recovered, and while he did not regain his former strength he continued his active service in the Senate until three days before his death on July third of this year. The last day he spent in his office I visited him and he read to me a letter he was about to send to Bennettsville, S. C., to be read at the senatorial campaign meeting scheduled for the following day. I think this was the last political act of his life and so as the curtain went up on his political career at Bennettsville in 1885, with this letter the curtain fell upon his political career in July, 1918. The intervening years he had crowded to the utmost with service to the people of South Carolina, and I make bold to say that when the history of this period is written the historian of the future, freed from the prejudice engendered by political contests, will say not only that he was "a Carolinian and a patriot," but he will say that BENJAMIN RYAN TILLMAN was the greatest man that South Carolina has produced.

So much for his political life. I must speak of his private life, because great as was my admiration for him as governor and Senator, greater still was my love for him as a man. In 1868 he married Miss Sallie A. Stark, of Elbert, Ga., and to this union were born six children, five of whom are living—Benjamin Ryan Tillman, jr.; Capt. Henry Cumming Tillman; Mrs. Lona Tillman Moore; Mrs. Sophia Tillman Hughes; and Mrs. Sallie Mae Tillman Shuler.

I have never known a man more devoted than Senator Tillman was to his family. His devotion to his wife was the devotion of a boy to his sweetheart, and when forced by circumstances to be separated from her for even a day he was the unhappiest man on earth. On one occasion while accompanying him to his office he informed me that that day was the anniversary of his wedding, and I shall never forget with what sincerity he spoke of the happiness of his married life. When in Washington Mrs. Tillman spent every afternoon in his office, and to her Senator TILLMAN would submit his problems and invariably be guided by her wise counsel.

During recent years there was hardly a day during the sessions of Congress that I did not either visit his office or speak with him over the telephone. I came to love him, and in return he treated me as he would one of his sons. As I learned to know him I wondered how, even in the heat of political contests, his enemies misjudged him as they did. I saw his finer qualities, his love of truth, and his hatred of hypocrisy; his love of his fellow man and his sympathy for the downtrodden and the unfortunate; his chivalrous respect for women and his love of children. I learned, too, of his simple but firm faith in a Supreme Being, and to-day, as I recall how in daily life he practiced religion, I have an abiding confidence that a just and merciful God has granted to him that eternal rest to which a life of service justly entitles him.

Mr. BYRNES of South Carolina assumed the Chair.

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Speaker, for 40 years John C. Calhoun so thoroughly dominated politics in South Carolina that it was said, "When Calhoun took snuff the State sneezed." One of the characteristics of the volatile-minded and chivalrous people of South Carolina is hero worship. They idolized Calhoun for nearly half a century. They followed Gen. Hampton from 1876 to 1890, and they gave their indorsement to the late Senator TILLMAN, in whose memory we have met to-day, for more than a quarter of a century.

An adequate review of the activities of Senator TILLMAN in South Carolina, from the day that he began his agitation for certain reforms in the educational and governmental systems of the State until, weary with the warfare, he yielded himself in defeat to the unconquered master of man, would require the services of an historian rather than that of the eulogist. Suffice it to say that the movement in the politics of the State which gave Senator TILLMAN an opportunity for the display of his fiery and rugged eloquence was the inevitable outgrowth of conditions which had long existed and which were the results of a situation peculiar to the State.

Senator TILLMAN first attracted attention to himself by a series of articles in the Charleston News and Courier, in which he advocated the establishment of an institution for industrial and technical education. These articles drew the fire of the then brilliant editor of that paper, the late Capt. F. W. Dawson. Those who followed these brilliant exchanges were quick to see that each gladiator found in the other a foeman worthy of his steel, and that in the hitherto comparatively unknown TILLMAN there lay genius for leadership which would have to be reckoned with.

In 1885 he delivered a speech at a farmers' convention which caught the ears of a large and discontented element of the State, and created a standing interest in the uncouth but earnest man from the hill country of the State. This element made a strong fight for control of the State government in 1888, but was unsuccessful. In 1890 they called a convention, known locally as the March convention, and nominated Capt. TILLMAN for their candidate for governor. Those who opposed this movement, which was not strictly an agrarian movement, but was rather a movement representing a protest and certain demands, agreed upon Attorney General Joseph H. Earle and Gen. John B. Bratton, a brigadier general in the Confederate Army, both men of the highest character, courage, patriotism, and ability, to represent them in the contest.

The campaign began at Greenville in June of that year, and joint debates were held in every county in the State. Never perhaps in any State in the Union have there been witnessed such scenes of enthusiasm and bitterness, of crimination and recrimination, of sharp attack and sharper counterattack. However, it became very soon apparent that the people had discovered another idol, and that a tidal wave was sweeping the State from the mountain to the seaboard, and that the election of Capt. TILLMAN and his followers was inevitable.

Capt. TILLMAN was elected governor by an overwhelming majority, and immediately upon his induction into the office of governor he set about to put into law the reforms which he had so vigorously and with such masterful and powerful eloquence advocated upon the stump.

He was fought with intense bitterness at every point. The press of the State was almost unanimous against him and his program; practically every lawyer fought him, and what has since become known as big business was violently against him, but he had the support of that class of citizenship which is frequently referred to as the middle class, and he was reelected by an overwhelming vote in 1892. And with a legislature which had finally become friendly to him he succeeded during his incumbency as governor in the establishment of the Agricultural and Mechanical College at Fort Hill, the old home of Calhoun. In addition to this, the normal and industrial college for women, known as Winthrop College, was established, and which is now regarded as foremost in the Nation of institutions of this character. It was during his term as governor

that the dispensary law, an imported method for the control of the liquor traffic, was put into operation, a system which proved conclusively that liquor makes bad morals and bad government. It was during this time that the primary system for the nomination of candidates for public office from the United States Senator down to township commissioner was inaugurated. An attempt was made to equalize taxation and a spectacular contest between the chief executive and certain large corporations took place, with the result in favor of the chief executive.

These and many other reforms have profoundly affected the course of affairs in the State during the last quarter of a century, and while yet a subject of controversy, it is safe to say, that the preponderance of judgment will warrant the statement that the four years of Senator TILLMAN as governor of the State witnessed more constructive and far-reaching legislation than had ever been given to the State before in a like period of time. All credit for this, however, can not be given in justice to Senator TILLMAN, for he was surrounded in his counsels by earnest and far-seeing men, and yet it would be equally unfair to deny that the larger share of credit belongs to his genius for leadership and constructive suggestion.

The historian will likely say that the reform movement, or as it is more frequently referred to "The Tillman movement," was strong and helpful in the thoroughness with which it taught the people their power, and weak in its failure, as thoroughly, to teach them how to use that power. Though the program of the reform movement at that time had included the logical sequence of all that it stood for, it should have provided for a more effective system of public education, because the possession of power without a thorough knowledge of a proper and correct use of it is most dangerous. Calmly reviewing the events of those stirring days, and the conditions that made these events possible, and the results that have come from them, the conclusion is inevitable that they were a necessary process in the evolution of popular government in the State, and that genuine democracy was advanced by them.

The biographer is likely to say that Senator TILLMAN'S most conspicuous service to the people was rendered as a State rather than as a national leader. It was in State affairs that his leadership was most conspicuous and aggressive, and he will live longest in the minds of the people for his work in State matters. His name is indissolvably linked with the two great industrial colleges for men and women. They, in themselves, are sufficient to place Senator TILLMAN on the very highest pedestal of statesmanship. These colleges are performing a service for the young men and young women of the State whose value can not be estimated.

And the primary system, crude as it was and is still, has nevertheless, brought the people in more direct control of their government, and will always be looked upon as a monument of his work, and is an evidence of the genuine democracy which, in the last analysis, was the basis of his long and remarkable domination of an overwhelming majority of his fellow citizens.

In 1894 he became a candidate for the United States Senate against General Matthew Calbraith Butler, who for 18 years had represented the State in the United States Senate with signal ability and vitality. Again the State was shaken from the mountains to the seaboard with the fury of the contest, but the result was never in doubt and Senator TILLMAN was elected by a tremendous majority.

A study of these contests will show the force and power of Senator TILLMAN in middle life. No one who witnessed them can ever forget his almost uncanny recognition of a psychological moment when addressing a popular audience. As a stump speaker, he was absolutely irresistible, and was without an equal. His vocabulary was thoroughly Anglo-Saxon, pure and pointed, the right word always in the right place. He was a student of the classics and learned deeply from them. His style was volcanically explosive, and hence almost irresistible; while his mannerisms were unique and original. His gesticulation was awkward but effective. His facial expression was a powerful asset to him as a speaker, and his voice, a high tenor, had great carrying power and was the ideal speaking outdoor voice.

It is not recorded that he ever quailed or hesitated before a dangerous situation, or that he was ever hit when he could not hit back at least a little harder. Others have imitated him and his methods with some degree of success, but his place as a campaigner before popular audiences will long remain all his own.

It had been the wish of many of his friends that in his own way he might preserve for posterity his own recollection and impression of the remarkable scenes of which he was chief actor, and it is still the hope of his friends that a competent and impartial biographer may rescue from forgetfulness these scenes.

It was not long after Senator TILLMAN took his seat as a Senator that he attracted national attention by a bitter and spectacular attack upon the Cleveland administration. These were the days when the agitation for free silver began to take possession of the imagination of the South and the West, which were then suffering from stagnation in business and from extremely low prices for farm products. His declaration, "Sixteen to one or bust," became a classic in the campaign of 1896, when gold versus silver fought their final contest for supremacy in this country. From the day of this speech until his last appearance upon the floor of the Senate he was a marked man. As he grew in experience and in age, and when responsibility began to rest more and more heavily upon him, he gradually, as is usual in all cases, began to grow more and more conservative and more and more inclined to tolerate the opinions of others. His contact with the brainiest men of the Nation was a great training for him, and his breadth of vision increased with his more comprehensive understanding of the problems and of the variety and conflicting interests of a great Republic.

Senators of the type of Chandler, of New Hampshire; the scholarly Senator Hoar and his equally scholarly colleague, Senator LODGE; the brilliant Senator Spooner; the gentlemanly and dignified Senator Hale; soon discovered in the new Senator from South Carolina, whose large brown eye blazed with the love of combat, an intellect, a courage, and wisdom, and a knowledge worthy of the best traditions of the greatest legislative body in the world. He was not long in establishing his right of leadership in this body of great men, and this he held without dispute until the fatal disease, which was his undoing, laid its hands upon him. Four times he was elected to the Senate by the almost unanimous vote of his people, and even his bitterest enemies must and do concede that his attitude as a Senator, in almost every instance, was representative of the majority thought of his State. He had a most highly developed capacity for divining public opinion, but likewise had a capacity in an equal degree toward making public opinion. He was more generally a leader of thought than a follower of it. His mind was of the imperious kind; he dominated everything about him. He loved power, but he did not abuse it.

No man in the history of the State, save Calhoun alone, so completely and for so long a time held his sway over its people, and this was not due to his personal popularity, for, while he had warm and loyal friends, he was not of the type whose success was due to a personal following. He won his way by sheer force of intellect and courage, and the belief of his followers in his patriotism and honesty. They trusted him without stint.

The home life of Senator TILLMAN was beautiful. His passionate love for flowers, his deep and abiding devotion to his family are well known. His roughness of manner and speech were more apparent than real. Under the rough exterior there was a kindly heart. Children loved him, and the intuition of children is unerring in its accuracy.

This hastily prepared glimpse of the character and service of this great man is all too brief, but eulogy can not do such a character justice. That must be left to the biographer. May he be fair and competent that the generations to come may be able to form a correct estimate of the place in history which Senator TILLMAN shall fill.

ADJOURNMENT.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. BYRNES of South Carolina). In accordance with the provisions of the resolution heretofore adopted the House will now stand adjourned.

Accordingly, at 2 o'clock and 7 minutes p. m., the House adjourned until to-morrow, Monday, December 16, 1918, at 12 o'clock noon.

SENATE.

MONDAY, *December 16, 1918.*

The Senate met at 12 o'clock noon, on the expiration of the recess.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Bankhead	Culberson	Fletcher	Gronna
Beckham	Curtis	France	Hale
Brandegee	Dillingham	Frelinghuysen	Harding
Colt	Fernald	Gay	Hardwick